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THE RISE OF MENNONITISM IN THE NETHERLANDS

JOHN HORSCH

I

Preliminary. Melchior Hoffmann, the Enthusiast

We have indicated* that the first congregation of the Mennonite denomination (the name is, of course, of later origin) was organized in January, 1525, at Zurich in Switzerland. The Swiss Brethren, as further indicated, spread through various countries, not to Northern Germany and the Netherlands, however. In the latter country the Mennonite Church rose about a decade later independently of Swiss Brethren influence. Between the teaching of the Swiss Brethren and the Mennonite Church in the Netherlands there were some doctrinal differences on minor points, indicating that one is not a copy of the other, yet both groups recognized each other as brethren. The founder of the Mennonite Church in the Netherlands was Obbe Philips. Since Obbe Philips, after he had received light concerning the errors of Romanism and before he became the founder of the Obbites or Obbenites, (later named Mennonites) was a follower of Melchior Hoffmann, the latter will now have our attention.

Melchior Hoffmann was born about 1495 at Hall in Swabia, South Germany. By trade he was a furrier. He had a good com-

* See "The Rise of the Swiss Brethren Church," M. Q. R., vol. VI, No. 4.

mon school education and had extraordinary talent as a speaker. Through Luther's writings he was won for Lutheranism about 1522. In 1523 he made a business trip to Livonia and Esthonia on the Baltic Sea and, though unordained, preached in various places. Driven from Wolmar, where he had labored for a short time, he went to Dorpat in Esthonia. Here, in January, 1524, he incited the populace to a general destruction of the images of Christ and the saints (the adoration of images was a prominent feature of Roman Catholic cultus). In consequence he was arrested but was soon released.

When later on in the city of Riga in Latvia his orthodoxy was questioned, Hoffmann went to Wittenberg and obtained from Martin Luther himself a recommendation attesting his doctrinal soundness. At Stockholm in Sweden he published an exposition of the twelfth chapter of Daniel and expressed the opinion that in 1533 the end of the world would come. Later he went to Kiel in Holstein where he found favor with the Lutheran king Frederick I and the crown-prince Christian, of Denmark. Here he published a number of books in which he referred to himself as "the court preacher of his majesty, the king of Denmark." When however, in 1529, he began to defend a view of the Lord's supper deviating from the Lutheran and approaching the Zwinglian view, he was banished from Holstein and went to Strasburg in Alsace where the Zwinglian reformer Martin Bucer gave him a hearty welcome.

In Strasburg Hoffmann made the acquaintance of a few persons who believed themselves to be prophets, receiving direct divine revelations. Outstanding among them were Ursula Jost and her husband Lienhard. Hoffmann made the mistake of accepting the visions of these prophets as divinely inspired and infallible, and published some of them. The first of these visions dated back to the year 1524, that is to say before the beginning of the Anabaptist movement. Through these prophecies and through strangely fantastic interpretation of certain passages in the book of Revelation he was led to accept various fanciful views concerning the end-time.

One of the prophets proclaimed Hoffmann to be Elijah whose coming was to precede the second advent of Christ. Hoffmann, after some hesitation, accepted this revelation and claimed to be Elijah. On the ground of the new prophecies he also believed himself to be one of the two witnesses of Rev. 11:3. He named himself an "apostolic herald" and believed that, as foretold by the new prophets, 144,000 heralds of the Gospel would rise to preach the truth. They would be endowed with such spiritual gifts and power to work

miracles that no one would be able to withstand them. Their labors would result in the granting of liberty of conscience and finally in world regeneration. Proceeding from Strasburg, they would win the nations for Melchiorite teaching. Hoffmann, as one of the two witnesses of Rev. 11:3, would be put to death but would be raised to life again. The second witness was supposed by some to be Cornelius Polterman, of Middelburg in Holland. These curious views Hoffmann accepted gradually and held them at the time of his imprisonment in Strasburg in 1533. He was led to see the unscripturalness of infant baptism but decided that believers' baptism should not be practiced before the expected time of religious liberty.

In passing it may be worth noticing in this connection that Martin Luther also was believed to be Elijah.[1] Again, the thought of impending judgments of God over the opponents of the Gospel was not original with the Melchiorites; it was also shared by Martin Luther and his followers.[2]

The prophets of Strasburg had left Hoffmann in the dark as to the exact point of time of the beginning of the new era. A remarkable experience in 1530 led him to conclude that the time of the fulfillment of the new prophecies had come. In the month of May of that year he went from Strasburg to the city of Emden in East Friesland which he had visited also in the previous year. He was given opportunity to preach in the largest church of the city, and such was his success that as just indicated, he believed that the expected time of liberty for the expansion of the kingdom of God was at hand, and that baptism could now be practiced without persecu-

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1 As early as the year 1523, Michael Stiefel, a Lutheran minister, published a booklet proclaiming Luther to be Elijah whose coming was to precede the second advent of Christ. Johann Mathesius, one of Luther's first biographers, wrote: "The beloved Melanchthon speaks of our Doctor Luther as the last Elijah concerning whom always a prophecy obtained in Christendom." And again the same author says: "Thus the Holy Spirit prophesied of this third Elijah, Dr. Martin Luther" (John the Baptist being regarded as the second). Furthermore, Mathesius mentions various prophecies spoken by Luther which were fulfilled, and then remarks, "With many sure prophecies he confirmed his doctrine." Flacius Illyricus, a prominent Lutheran leader, in a book published in 1548, referred to Luther as Elijah. Needless to say, the idea of Luther as Elijah failed to appeal to the Melchiorites.

2 From the writings of Martin Luther many quotations could be given showing that he believed that the power of the pope who was supposed to be Antichrist, and his adherents would be immediately broken and destroyed. And Luther's followers held the same opinion. The Lutheran reformers of Nuremberg, in 1524, published a tract in which they asserted that "just now is the time in which the Lord Jesus will destroy Antichrist." "Therefore his power should be no longer feared: he has it not in his power to further harm any land, kingdom or city." Naturally the question of the cessation of the persecution agitated the persecuted dissenters more than the representatives of the state church type of the Reformation.

tion. Very remarkably, he found it possible to baptize about 300 persons in the vestry of this church at Emden.

Until that time he had not made mention of baptism in his writings, but now he published a book in which he declared himself against infant baptism. It is improbable that he himself was baptized at Strasburg before his coming to Emden. There was at that time in Strasburg a congregation of the Swiss Brethren as well as a circle of followers of Hans Denk. Hoffmann kept aloof from both groups. The Swiss Brethren had by that time spread to various countries: to Alsace, South Germany, Tyrol and Moravia. Hoffmann and his followers were the first Anabaptists to labor and administer baptism in northern Germany and the Netherlands.

The large group of persons who had been baptized by Hoffmann at Emden were not immediately subjected to persecution, though Hoffmann was soon banished from the city. He left Jan Volkerts, called Trijpmaker, in charge of the work, but within a few weeks the latter also was banished. Apparently Hoffmann now began to waver in his belief that the period of liberty foretold by the prophets in Strasburg was here. At any rate, for the following one and a half years he traveled in South Germany and Holland during which time he seems to have abstained from special public effort to propagate his teaching. However, Jan Trijpmaker had gone to Holland and at Amsterdam had baptized many persons without interference, the authorities of this city not deeming it necessary at that time to take measures against the Anabaptists. However, when in the autumn of 1531 Hoffmann also came to Amsterdam, the magistrates gave orders to have him arrested, but he escaped from the city.

In November of the same year the magistrates of Amsterdam received orders from the state authorities to suppress Anabaptism. Bailiffs were then sent to arrest Trijpmaker, but did not find him at home. On the following day he went to the residence of the mayor of the city to surrender himself, probably due to the Melchiorite belief that no harm would befall him, since the power of the persecutors was supposed to be broken. If this was his expectation, he was sorely disappointed. With eight other men, who had been baptized, he was sent to the Hague to be sentenced. The nine men were executed by decapitation at the Hague on December 5, 1531, and their heads sent to Amsterdam to be set upon poles in a prominent place "for an example and terror to others." Shortly afterwards the mayor of Amsterdam received orders to arrest all Ana-

baptists. Being warned by the mayor's wife of the threatening danger, they fled the city.

Needless to say, the martyrdom of the nine men at the Hague convinced Hoffmann and his followers of the fact that the persecution of Anabaptists had not abated. In their perplexity prophecy apparently came again to their rescue. One of the prophets announced that, as the work of building the second temple in Jerusalem had been interrupted for a space of two years (Ezra 4:24), so the building of the spiritual temple was to be put off for the same length of time. From Strasburg, whither he had returned from Amsterdam, Hoffmann wrote to his followers in the Netherlands, ordering suspension of baptism and of the organization of churches for two years, during which period those who were won for Hoffmann's doctrine should form secret circles without separation from the dominant church (which in the Netherlands was yet Roman Catholic).

Again, one of the prophets predicted that before the expiration of the two years of "standing still" Hoffmann would be arrested and imprisoned at Strasburg, and that his release six months later would mark the beginning of the expected time of liberty and expansion for the kingdom of God. Accepting this prediction at its face value, Hoffmann who had meanwhile gone to the Netherlands, returned again to Strasburg in May, 1533, and surrendered himself to the authorities. He was jailed, as he had expected, but the part of the prophecy that had reference to his release was not fulfilled. He was never released, though after an imprisonment of about six years he recanted his teaching on infant baptism and predestination, and declared, "If I myself had children, I would have them baptized in infancy." Hoffmann died a prisoner at Strasburg in 1543 or 1544.

Melchior Hoffmann, as we have seen, was an Anabaptist (at least for a number of years) but differed fundamentally and radically from the Swiss Brethren and other evangelical Anabaptists. His fantastic interpretation of certain Scripture passages was offensive to them. They did not believe in new revelations which would be of equal value and authority with the Scriptures. While Hoffmann always enjoined upon his followers the duty of obedience and subjection to the civil authorities, he differed from the Swiss Brethren on the principle of non-resistance and the oath. Furthermore he taught that all sin committed after conversion is sin against the Holy Ghost and cannot be forgiven.

The Swiss Brethren, on the contrary, emphasized the duty of

endeavoring to lead back-slidden church members to repentance. Again Hoffmann differed from them on the relationship of the church toward the world. As stated above, his world program looked for the actual Christianization and regeneration of the world. Again, Hoffmann held strange views concerning the Millennium. He believed that the angel who bound Satan for a thousand years was the apostle Paul. After the expiration of that period, Satan was loosed again, and the consequence was the sad spiritual and moral conditions prevailing.

Hoffmann's idea of "standing still" and postponing the observance of Christ's commands to "a more convenient season," was not by any means shared by the Swiss Brethren but was expressly repudiated. In this regard Hoffmann took an attitude similar to that of the so-called Semi-Anabaptists in Switzerland, who although they recognized believers' baptism as scriptural, abstained from it because of the persecution. We have indicated elsewhere that, while the Swiss Brethren and other evangelical Anabaptists did not ascribe saving virtue to the act of baptism, they none-the-less held scriptural baptism to be of great importance, being a commandment of Christ and a natural requirement for a New Testament church as a body of "called out" believers.

In passing we may recall that the idea of "standing still" was not original with Hoffmann. Before his time Hans Denk and Caspar Schwenckfeld had advocated "standing still" as concerns church organization and practicing the ordinances.

Apparently Hoffmann never baptized any one in Strasburg. He predicted the conversion of the magistrate of this city and hence was disinclined to prejudice them against Melchiorism. He testified in 1533 that he had never preached nor attempted to spread his teaching in Strasburg. His followers here, after the prophecies had failed, continued in an attitude of "standing still." According to a statement made in 1534 by Hans Frisch, an Anabaptist, the Melchiorites and the followers of Denk in Strasburg were "somewhat amalgamated" (*ein wenig mit einander vermischet*). Neither of these two parties approved of separation from the state church, and neither gave the Scriptures the same place of authority as did the Swiss Brethren. In 1546 the magistrates of the city received information that only five persons were present in a meeting of the Melchiorites while about one hundred had come together in a meeting held by the Swiss Brethren. The magistrates of Strasburg always distinguished between the Melchiorites and the Swiss Brethren.

Hoffmann, even before his recantation, spoke of the Swiss Brethren in unmistakable terms of disapproval. He made the statement that before his rise no one had taught or preached the truth. He held the Swiss Brethren responsible for the well-known fratricide of Thomas Schugger in St. Gall. As for the attitude of the Swiss Brethren toward Hoffmann, they declared in the debate held in Bern in 1538 not only that he was not of their brotherhood but that his teaching was resisted by them "with all earnestness." The supposition that Hoffmann was virtually at one with the Swiss Brethren is absolutely unfounded.

Melchior Hoffmann and his disciples were the first to preach and practise Anabaptism in the Netherlands. There is indirect evidence to indicate that Menno Simons, at the time of his conversion and baptism, had never seen the booklets published by the Swiss Brethren, nor the writings of Balthasar Hubmaier. The same was undoubtedly true of Obbe Philips also. There is nothing to indicate that he had any knowledge of the Swiss Brethren. Even a century later, when Thieleman van Braght published his *Martyrs' Mirror,* the Mennonites of the Netherlands had but a very meager knowledge of the history and teaching of the early Swiss Brethren. Van Braght believed that Michael Sattler, Hans Hut, and Ludwig Haetzer were Waldenses. It was evidently through the study of the Scriptures, not through Melchiorite influences, that Obbe Philips was led to accept what were substantially the same teachings as those of the Swiss Brethren.

II

Obbe Philips as a Melchiorite. His Enlightenment.

Obbe Philips, at the time of the rise of Melchiorism in the Netherlands, lived in the city of Leeuwarden in West Friesland, Holland. He was a surgeon, while his brother Dirk Philips was a Franciscan Monk in a near-by cloister.

In Leeuwarden the martyrdom of Sikke Frerichs Snyder, a Melchiorite who had been baptized before baptism was suspended by Hoffmann, took place in March of 1531. [It should be recalled here that Menno Simons, in his autobiography, states that before the execution of Sikke Snyder he had never heard of any one disowning infant baptism.] In all probability the Philips brothers were eye witnesses of Snyder's death. Certain it is that they joined the circle of Melchiorites in Leeuwarden not long after this event, and with their associates waited for the predicted time when the

ordinances could be practised and churches organized without persecution.

Non-Romanist religious influences in the Netherlands at that time were confined to those of Melchiorism. It was through Melchiorite influence that Obbe Philips obtained light concerning the unscriptural doctrines and practices of Romanism. Therefore it was but natural that he became a follower of Melchior Hoffmann. Looking back to this period, Obbe says later that he and his friends were children in understanding. Their knowledge of Scripture was very limited. When Hoffmann's predictions and fantastic teachings concerning the end-time proved deceptive, Obbe Philips with a number of his friends renounced Melchiorism. Through independent study of the Scriptures they obtained true enlightenment and were led to form a church which, as already indicated, in faith and practice substantially agreed with the Swiss Brethren. The fact is certainly noteworthy that, while they evidently were unaware of the existence of the Swiss Brethren, their study of Scripture led them to embrace the same truths and defend the same practices as the Brethren in Switzerland. They were named Obbites, or Obbenites, later Mennonites, after Menno Simons had become their principal leader.

Obbe Philips gives the following description of the circle of Melchiorites, of which he was a member, at the time when they looked for the end of the persecution and for orders from Hoffmann to renounce Romanism and to practice the ordinances: "There was among us great and joyous expectation. We supposed that all the predictions would prove true and be fulfilled. For we were inexperienced, simple, innocent, without craftiness, and as yet we knew of no deception through visions, prophecies or supposed revelations. In our simplicity we believed that if we guarded ourselves from Romanist, Lutheran, and Zwinglian errors, all was well and there was no need for further concern."

The determination to avoid persecution by postponing the observance of the commands of Christ to a more convenient season, proved detrimental to the Melchiorite cause. Such an attitude on the question of church reformation naturally attracted to their ranks an undesirable element which would have kept aloof, had the Melchiorites been willing to be "a church under the cross." Giving the predicted political and social changes first place in their thoughts and expectations, created among them a tendency to shift from a purely religious basis to a partly political realm. The Melchiorite compromises and political expectations appealed forcefully to a

class which had little in common with the circle at Leeuwarden, as described by Obbe Philips.

After Hoffmann's arrest in Strasburg in 1533 there arose among the Melchiorites in the Netherlands a prophet, Jan Matthys, a baker of the town of Haarlem, in Holland, who bid fair to outdo those whose visions Hoffmann had published. In the autumn of 1533 Matthys' friend John of Leiden visited the city of Münster in Westphalia, northwestern Germany, and reported to Jan Matthys concerning conditions in that city. He had made the trip to Münster, having received information, as he later confessed, that there were "fearless preachers" there. He returned to Holland with an almost incredible story. Persecution had actually ceased in Münster. General toleration was practised. Catholics, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Melchiorites lived in the city side by side without persecution. Bernt Rothmann, the leading preacher of the city, until recently a Lutheran clergyman, taught openly that infant baptism is unscriptural (although he continued to baptize infants). Other preachers of the city and many of the citizens shared this view. All attempts to silence Rothmann and his associates had failed, since the politically powerful guilds (trades unions) took his part and protected him contrary to the command of the higher authorities. It is improbable that at any other place these unions had the constitutional rights and privileges which were theirs at Münster. The Roman Catholic bishop and provincial government found themselves powerless to maintain control of the city.

The imagination of Jan Matthys ran riot in consequence of the report which his friend John of Leiden brought from Münster, and of the discussions he had with him. He began to entertain the view that not Strasburg but Münster was to be the center of God's kingdom. Melchior Hoffmann had consistently warned his followers of uproar and rebellion, but had not held the principle of nonresistance and of separation of church and state. The Melchiorites did not accept these principles. Was there any reason then why they should not assume political control, if opportunity presented? Was not the work of Luther and Zwingli, the leading reformers of the state church type of Protestantism, closely allied with the state?

For two weeks Jan Matthys conferred with John of Leiden concerning the burning questions of the day. He began to see visions and dream dreams, caused by his own unholy desires and ambitions. The two years of "standing still", prescribed by Hoffmann, had not yet expired, but Matthys claimed he had divine revelations to the effect that the expected time of liberty and of the sudden termination

of the persecution had actually begun. True, there was as yet in the Netherlands no indication of such a change, but had not the marvellous turn of affairs at Münster taken place suddenly? The two men believed that Münster, instead of Strasburg (where persecution continued) was destined to be the center from which the new order of things would spread over the land.

In November 1533 Jan Matthys came to the Melchiorites of Amsterdam and announced, on the ground of new revelations which he, as "the second witness," had received, that the great change for which they were waiting was at hand. The time to resume the practice of baptism had come. The wicked had henceforth no power over the faithful to torture and slay them. Matthys admonished them to fear no longer the great tyranny, for no blood of Christians would further be shed on earth. This was, he said, the time when the judgments of God would come upon the ungodly. Withal, Matthys admonished the believers that, awaiting further orders, they should "remain in Babel", as concerned outward appearances. They should not openly separate themselves from the Roman Church; there should be no noticeable change in their outward attitude toward that church. They were to be baptized secretly in evidence of their belief that the new dispensation was here.

The new prophet was received coolly by the Melchiorites of Amsterdam. The two years of "standing still" had not fully expired, and some of them had supposed that Cornelius Polterman was to be the second witness. "They were perplexed and knew not what to do," says Obbe Philips. "But Matthys came to them," Obbe states further, "with great threatenings and frightened them with the announcement of great and terrible judgments over those who resisted the Holy Ghost." For a time the Melchiorites of Amsterdam stood their ground against Matthys but finally most of them accepted his message and were baptized. "For we Melchiorites were at that time unsuspecting", Obbe Philips goes on to say, "and had no thought that false prophets could rise among our own brethren."

Jan Matthys sent his "apostles" to the Melchiorites everywhere with the same message. "They were to proclaim peace and toleration and to announce that nevermore would tyrants persecute them, and that henceforth there would be no blood-shed, but a new world was to come in holiness and righteousness," Obbe wrote further.

Two of the messengers of Jan Matthys came to Leeuwarden, where they met the men who were destined to become a little later,

the principal opponents of the new prophet, namely Obbe and Dirck Philips. But we let Obbe himself tell the story of the reception and the work of these men among the Melchiorites of Leeuwarden.

"Then there came to us at Leeuwarden two of those messengers, namely Bartholomew Bookbinder and Dirck Cooper. And when some of us had come together, about fourteen or fifteen persons, men and women, they sat before us and announced to us love and patience in their address. And then they declared to us the authority of their mission, namely that Jan Matthys had come to them with such signs, wonder-working, and power of the Spirit that words failed them to describe it to us. They said we should not doubt that they were endowed with power and miracle-working no less than the Apostles at the day of Pentecost.[3]

"They also comforted us and said, we should not be in anxiety nor fear, as we had indeed long feared the great tyranny; for henceforth no blood of Christians should be shed on earth, but within a short time God would destroy all those who shed blood, all the tyrants and godless from the earth."

"This assertion", [that God would destroy the wicked], Obbe Philips says further, "I heard with suspicion, although I dared not contradict them, for at that time no one had the courage to contradict much, and whoever spoke against their message was denounced as one who resisted the Spirit and blasphemed. In this manner and by their threatenings of damnation they terrorized the hearts in such measure that no one had the courage to contradict them. Everyone feared that he would in some way transgress and speak against the mission and work of God. For we were all inexperienced, like children, and had no thought that we would be deceived by our own brethren who every day were with us in like danger of death and persecution."

"At that day we nearly all accepted baptism at their hands," Obbe Philips continues. "The day following, when they were about to depart, they, after counseling with other brethren, entrusted to us the office of the ministry, by laying on of hands, namely to baptize, to teach, etc. And after they had accomplished all this among us, they at once resumed their journey on the same day."

"Then after eight days came Peter Woodsawer with the same

[3] K. Vos (*Menno Simons*, p. 55) quotes the last sentence of this passage and says that this was the view of the Obbenites—an inexcusable misunderstanding. The description which he gives at the same place of the Obbenites and early Mennonites is altogether inaccurate and misleading. Here, as in other instances, this author ascribes to the Obbenites and early Mennonites the views not only of Melchior Hoffmann but even of Jan Matthys.

mission, and baptized Dirck Philips and a few others. I was absent from the city in the country to preach at that time, and did not meet Peter Woodsawer."

Having now become Anabaptists (rebaptizers), Obbe Philips and his friends were at once made to realize by bitter experience that in no way was there a greater measure of toleration for Anabaptists now, than there had been before the rise of the new prophet. We shall again give the word of Obbe Philips and record his interesting narration of immediate developments at Leeuwarden. He writes:

"No sooner had this Peter Woodsawer come outside of the city walls of Leeuwarden, when all prophecy and lofty assertion proved vain; for he was immediately sought and pursued by the authorities, at first in the city and then in the villages of the country, and had a very narrow escape, for the authorities used all means to pursue him.

"Meanwhile I returned upon a Sunday with my brother Hans Scherder to Leeuwarden, and when we came near the city gate, about noon, we noticed that the keeper was about to close the gate. But he saw us coming and called to us, saying, if we desired to enter, we must make haste. When we heard this, we were frightened and asked the reason why the gate was closed. He said, 'There are Anabaptists in the city; they are all to be seized'. Then we were much more frightened and remembered the prophecies. But [although this came to us quite unexpectedly], we, realizing the impossibility of turning back without arousing suspicion, recovered courage and went into the city about noon.

"Having arrived home, I found my wife in anxiety, and she told me of the visit of Peter Woodsawer, and that some of the Melchiorites had boldly contradicted his word and his authority, which resulted in great rumor and persecution. Some had already been apprehended and others were very earnestly sought. She entreated me to go by all means away into another house until darkness would set in [hoping for an opportunity to leave the city unnoticed]."

If after these experiences, Obbe Philips continued to entertain the belief that the time of religious liberty had come, he was soon to be completely disillusioned. Some of the men sent as apostles by Jan Matthys, apparently in order to show that they believed their own message, ventured to preach publicly. They were promptly arrested. Obbe says: "These three men who, having come to them from Amsterdam, had boasted of their mission and calling as apos-

tles and said that no blood should further be shed upon the earth, were taken captive soon after that as disturbers and Anabaptists. With a number of others, sixteen or seventeen persons in all, they were taken to Haarlem and were all put to death."

Seven of these men, among them Peter Woodsawer and Bartholomew Bookbinder, were executed and broken upon the wheel at Haarlem on March 26, 1534. After this terrible sentence had been carried out, Obbe Philips himself, with a few of his friends, went to the place of execution to view their remains. "I desired to ascertain," says Obbe, "which of them were the three who had baptized us and had announced to us such mission and promise of religious liberty but we were not able to recognize them."

The utter consternation prevailing among these people in consequence of the failure of the prophecies and of the realization that they had been deceived, is further described by Obbe Philips: "Now every one may consider for himself how we felt when we remembered the haughty and beautiful words, which I perchance had not read out of a book nor received or heard in a round-about way, but I had heard these words from their own mouths. What took place was the very contrary of what they had announced to us. All that they had said would come upon the world, upon the tyrants and godless, came rather upon us, and first of all upon the messengers themselves. Alas, who is able to tell our great grief. By the world we were terrorized and severely persecuted, and by our own brethren we were daily misled and deceived."

Thus the fact that they had been led into appalling error was brought home forcibly to Obbe Philips and his friends. Not only did they realize that they had been deceived by Jan Matthys and his messengers, but it became clear to them also that the leading principles to which the Melchiorites adhered from the beginning were unsound and erroneous. Melchior Hoffmann, by his extravagant notions, had prepared the way for further error and deception. And now Jan Matthys, who besides John of Leiden had gone to Münster, asserted that the dissenters and heretics who would not accept his message, should be put to death by his own followers. Especially was his heart filled with revengefulness against the persecutors of his followers.

According to Obbe Philips' testimony the first apostles who came to them at Leeuwarden, announced, as we have noticed, the impending judgment of God upon the wicked. Obbe says, he heard this with misgivings. The belief that severe judgment would

befall those who opposed and persecuted the Gospel was at that time widely held also within the Protestant state churches, and seemed to be in keeping with certain passages of Scripture which treat on judgment over the wicked. There is no evidence to show that Matthys preached the destruction of the wicked with the sword before his arrival in Münster.

III

THE OBBENITES

Obbe Philips gives a vivid description of conditions after he, with others of the Melchiorites, came to realize that they had been misled and deceived by their leaders. He wrote:

"Oh how often were some of us in sadness unto death and knew not whither to turn or what to do. The whole world persecuted us to death for our faith with fire, water, sword, and all bloody tyranny; the prophecies had deceived us, Scripture did not give us liberty to make common cause with the persecutors, the false brethren whom we reproved and contradicted, swore that they would take our lives, and the love of so many hearts, who were deceived despite their good intentions, moved us to heartfelt compassion. Ofttimes my soul was sorrowful unto death."

Thus Obbe Philips saw himself confronted with the momentous question of what was to be done under these bewildering and disheartening experiences. He realized clearly, not only that Jan Matthys was a rank fanatic but that much of the teaching of Melchior Hoffmann was likewise unscriptural and untenable. Under these circumstances the temptation to reassume the former Melchiorite attitude of "standing still" and outwardly conforming to Romanism was very real. Even if he should "stand still", remaining at Leeuwarden would be unsafe for him. However, he could go to a place where he was unknown. But he saw that to take such a course of compromise with Romanism would have been to act contrary to his better knowledge. Moreover, Obbe Philips, as he stated in the above quotation, felt that he had a duty toward those who, like himself, had been misled and deceived despite their earnest desire to lead a life of consecration to the service of the Lord. The former Melchiorites now faced the danger of following further an unsafe leadership, even though they recognized Jan Matthys to be a false prophet. Obbe says further: "Had it not been for the love and pity I felt toward so many upright hearts who were daily seduced by the false brethren, I should certainly have left them and with a few others withdrawn from all who were acquainted with me.

For among all the teachers there was for a time no one but Dirck Philips to stand with me against the false brethren."[4]

Thus, after severe struggles of conscience, Obbe Philips decided to abide by his convictions, even though doing so meant the severest persecution. In this resolution he was joined by his brother Dirck and many others who were willing to be guided by Scripture alone.

The main sources of information concerning the teachings of the Obbenites are Obbe Philips' book entitled "Confessions" and the early writings of Menno Simons. The Obbenites had existed about two years at the time of Menno Simons' conversion and baptism. Menno testifies that they were unblamable in doctrine and life when he united with them.

Among the most vital points on which Obbe and Dirck Philips differed from Melchior Hoffmann's teaching was the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures as the revelation of God's plan and will, and the necessity of abiding by its teachings and requirements, even under persecution; and secondly, the relation between the church and the world. On both these questions Obbe Philips and his friends accepted the same position as was held by the Swiss Brethren. On the latter point they believed that the Church and the world will exist side by side to the end of this dispensation. They rejected as unorthodox Hoffmann's teaching that the world will be converted, as well as Matthys' obnoxious opinion of the destruction of the unconverted world.

Nicolaus Blesdijk, a follower of David Joris and contemporary of Menno Simons, wrote: "The followers of Obbe Philips, who are today called Mennonites, taught that no other condition of Christ's kingdom is to be expected than that which exists today, namely persecution by the world."[5] The spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world, they held, are diametrically opposed to each other. The individual Christian and the church as such must be guided by the Word irrespective of the attitude of the world. Persecution by the world, they believed, is no excuse for setting aside the commands of Christ, as the Melchiorites had done. While the

[4] There is no evidence for Vos's view that Obbe Philips entertained haughty opinions concerning the importance of his own mission in connection with the coming of the kingdom of God.

[5] *Historia Davidis Georgii* 1642, p. 8; quoted by ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgenziden in Holland*, vol. 1, p. 93. This testimony shows the fallacy of the opinion of K. Vos (*Menno Simons*, p. 55) that Obbe and his followers entertained the same views as Melchior Hoffmann touching the coming kingdom of God. Menno Simons' first writings give further pertinent proof. Compare the passage indicated in the following footnote.

Obbenites hoped for a time of religious liberty, as was definitely expressed by Menno Simons, they made no pretension of knowing that such a time would come, and they did not believe that the end of open persecution would mean friendship with the world.

Obbe Philips and his friends withdrew from and proceeded independently of the followers of Jan Matthys. Not only did they renounce the teachings of this false prophet but they denounced them, and hence were fiercely opposed by his disciples. As Obbe says in the above quotation, the false brethren, whom they rebuked and contradicted, sought their lives; they "swore to kill them." There are various evidences of the correctness of this statement. After the rise of the sect of the Batenburgers, who adhered to Münsterite teaching, Gerhard Eilkeman said in Münster (in 1544): "All who were baptized by the said Obbe Philips are called Obbenites and are opponents of the sect of Batenburg. The latter have persecuted them to compel them to renounce the sect of the Obbenites."

An outstanding indication of the radically uncompromising attitude taken by the Obbenites toward the followers of Jan Matthys is the fact that Obbe Philips excommunicated them. There is a case on record of the Obbenites excommunicating a person because he had decided to go to Münster, where the adherents of Matthys enjoyed full liberty. And not only did Obbe Philips excommunicate the adherents of Jan Matthys, but he forbade his followers to have anything whatever to do with them. An early Mennonite chronicler says that, according to Obbe Philips' teaching, only in cases of the most extreme need could church members have anything to do with excommunicated persons, and this statement is corroborated by Menno Simons' writings. This was the origin among the Mennonites of the practice of "avoiding" or shunning the excommunicated.

There were definite reasons why such extreme measures, as were defended by Obbe Philips, were deemed a necessary safeguard for such as were weak and easily influenced. The adherents of Jan Matthys had a plausible appeal to make to the Obbenites. The idea of fleeing to a place of safety, such as Münster seemed to offer, naturally appealed strongly to those who were persecuted to death, and the fact must not be overlooked that at that time the most obnoxious practices, of which John of Leiden later became guilty, had not yet been introduced in Münster. The followers of Jan Matthys asserted that conditions in Münster were a pledge for the fulfillment of the prophecies and for the beginning of the new era.

Thus Obbe Philips, by taking an attitude of radical opposition to the disciples of Jan Matthys and their teaching, and by his insistence on absolute separation from them, became the founder of the denomination named after him.

After the first period of their existence the Obbenites modified their teaching on a few points. As intimated above, they at first entertained extreme views concerning avoidance of the excommunicated. Again, their opinion that no one, even in instances of gross sin, should be excluded from the Church without three preceding admonitions, was later discarded through Menno's influence. While Menno Simons in his first writings condemned all persecution, he evidently did not deny to the state every right to meddle in matters of creed. In the first edition of his *Foundation* he called upon the magistrates to cease persecuting and punishing the followers of Christ and to direct their efforts rather against the transgressors of the just laws of the land. He expressed the desire that the rulers should depose false teachers "whether or not they be baptized." In his later revision of this book he rewrote the passage in question and expressed the hope that the officers of the government would assist in spreading God's kingdom by granting toleration and by the example of a pious, unblamable life "without any use of violence, blood, or the sword." In his later writings Menno often speaks disapprovingly of any interferences of the magistrates in matters of faith. The Swiss Brethren and the Moravian Anabaptists insisted from the beginning on a clean cut separation of church and state. To what extent their influence is to be held accountable for Menno's later position can only be a matter of conjecture.

The records do not contain an expression by Obbe Philips on the doctrine of the Incarnation. When Menno united with the Obbenites, they apparently held the view taught by him in his writings, namely that the inception or origin of Jesus' body was the result of a miraculous creation of the Holy Ghost to which Mary contributed nothing. He gave this as the explanation of the fact that Mary's sinful nature was not transmitted to Jesus. However, Menno taught distinctly, that, excepting the miraculous act of His conception, His growth in the prenatal state was due to natural causes and did not differ at all from that of all other children. Menno expressly repudiated the view of Melchior Hoffmann: that Jesus passed through the body of Mary as rays of the sun pass through a pane of glass, and that His prenatal growth was like His conception, of a miraculous nature.

There is good evidence to indicate that not all Melchiorites

of the Netherlands ever gave ear to Jan Matthys and his apostles. Again, many Melchiorites who had been led further astray through the influence of this false prophet were, like Obbe Philips, disillusioned when the prophecies failed and it became apparent that Matthys' aspirations were largely of a political nature and that he believed the saints should draw the sword against the wicked. But those who had never become followers of Jan Matthys as well as others who had accepted his message and afterward realized that they had been deceived, did not all join the ranks of the Obbenites. There were at that time at least three parties, or sects, among the Melchiorites and Anabaptists of the Netherlands.

At Amsterdam the Anabaptists were very numerous. The most noted preacher among the Anabaptists of this city was Jacob van Kampen who, like Obbe Philips, is known to have been an opponent of the Münsterites and probably was of the Obbenite brotherhood. He suffered martyrdom on July 10, 1535. The Anabaptists and Melchiorites of Amsterdam had six meeting places in and near the city, and their adherents were numbered by thousands. That the party of Jan Matthys in this city was not numerically strong became evident through the uprising made by his followers. Jan van Geelen, a Münsterite emissary, organized a rebellion to overthrow the government of the city of Amsterdam. In a remarkable way he succeeded in deceiving the authorities as to his own identity and aims. But he was able to bring together only between forty and fifty men to take part in the uprising on May 11, 1535. They surprised the authorities and took possession of the city house, but were quickly overpowered. Jan van Geelen lost his life in the struggle and his accomplices were seized and executed.

The Mennonite church of Amsterdam, it may be worth noticing, observed its fourth centennial anniversary in 1930, since the Melchiorite congregation, existing in that city in the sixteenth century, dated from that year. We have indicated that between the teaching of the Melchiorites and Obbenites there were radical differences, the latter being an organization distinct from the Melchiorites.

The opinion expressed by a few writers that the rise of the Obbenites was due to Waldensian influences is unacceptable. No record of Waldenses in Holland in any period has yet been found.

From Menno Simons' writings it is clear that long after the sect of Jan Matthys and John of Leiden had ceased to exist there were in the Netherlands those who, because of the persecution, advocated the Melchiorite principle of "standing still." In the first

edition of his "Foundation," written in 1539, Menno reproved pointedly those who would suspend obedience to Christ's commands until an expected time of liberty. There will never be a time, he says, when the word of Christ can be lived without cross-bearing. He goes on to say further, "If the God of mercy will give us a measure of tranquillity, peace and liberty, we shall receive it with thanksgiving from His gracious hand; if not, His gracious name is nevertheless to be praised in eternity."[6] In various other places in his writings Menno Simons rebukes those who would postpone the observance of Christ's commands. A lengthy letter, printed in his Complete Works, treats on this subject. He shows the inconsistency and absurdity of the idea that a dissimulating profession of Romanism, to escape persecution, is ever excusable.[7]

NOTE.—The quotations from Obbe Philips are taken from his *Confessions,* as republished by Dr. Samuel Cramer in Vol. VII of *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica.*

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[6] *Fundament* (1539) A 4v; *Complete Works* I, p. 16b.

[7] This letter is found in his Complete Works, part I, pp. 277-280. It is addressed to a group of people in Amsterdam who recognized the errors of Romanism but, because of the persecution, refused to withdraw from the Roman Church. The superscription, "A Dissuasion to His Brethren," etc., is clearly a later addition. In plain fact, the letter indicates that Menno did not hold out "the right hand of fellowship" to these people.

SEVENTY YEARS OF PROGRESS IN SUNDAY SCHOOL WORK AMONG THE MENNONITES OF THE MIDDLE WEST

JOHN UMBLE

Seventy years ago most of our present Mennonite congregations were members of two different conferences. The larger congregations in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa were called Amish Mennonite. Mennonites were more numerous than Amish in Canada and Pennsylvania. The Central Conference of Mennonites had not been formed seventy years ago. Its members belonged to the Amish Mennonite Conference until 1868. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church and the Wisler Mennonite Church came into existence several years later. Part of their membership came from the Mennonite Conferences of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Canada about 1870. There was no Mennonite General Conference until some of the Amish Mennonite and Mennonite conferences formed a kind of loose federation in 1897. Amish Mennonites and Mennonites had very little to do with each other before that time. In some communities Amish Mennonite ministers would not think of asking a Mennonite minister into their pulpit.

At this distance no great differences are discernible between Amish Mennonites and Mennonites as they were seventy years ago. Amish Mennonite men, in general, wore beards and fastened their coats, vests, and trousers with hooks and eyes. Mennonites usually were smooth-shaven and most of them did not wear hooks and eyes. In both groups self-appointed watchers kept constant guard against giving up any of the forms and traditions and against the introduction of anything new.

For some reason, in spite of their plainer clothing some groups of the Amish Mennonites were more progressive, more ready to introduce new methods of work. Most of the very early Sunday schools were organized in Amish Mennonite congregations. Many of the Mennonite congregations east and west were so conservative, so opposed to progress and new methods of work, that they never organized Sunday schools or Young People's Bible Meetings. In at least a half dozen communities in Ohio alone where such congregations existed, they are now extinct and almost forgotten. The writer's discovery of some of these communities was both an inter-

esting and painful experience. He had heard that one of these extinct Mennonite Churches was in Wood County. He drove to the county seat and consulted the telephone directory. There he found the names Tyson and Troxel, but they were scattered over the county and not localized in any one township. Then he examined the courthouse records. After prolonged search he found that people named Troxel, Tyson, Pletcher, and Boyer had purchased land in a certain township during the thirties, forties, and fifties. Finally he came across the deed for a Mennonite Church and another one, of a little earlier date, for a burial ground. The plot had been donated by a Mennonite family. The county map showed that the church and cemetery should be so many miles south and so many east of Bowling Green. The historian drove to the spot and found the cemetery. Across the road and west of a little creek where the church formerly stood he at first found nothing. He inquired of a farmer living near by whether a Mennonite church had formerly stood in the corner of the woods. The farmer replied that he had never heard of the Mennonites but that the "Menese" had built a church there a good many years ago. It was moved away to be used as a tool shed about thirty years ago. "But," he went on to say, "you can probably still see where the six big stones were which served as a foundation." Close examination revealed, in the corner of the woods, six grass-covered depressions where the six huge stones had been.

This was the end of one such church, but the stories are all alike. When one inquires of the son or grandson of a former minister for the reason that the church declined and died, the response is usually the same. The members refused to give up German services, and they successfully opposed the organization of Sunday school. Then the children attended other Sunday schools. Finally they were converted in the revival meetings held by the Evangelicals or United Brethren or Dunkards and united with one of those churches. Then when nearly all the old people had died and were buried in the lonely little cemetery, the others moved away or united with other churches. Some of them add, "Mother used to plead with father not to be so strict with the young people and to allow them to organize Sunday school, but he considered it too worldly."

After all it is a simple matter to close a church. All that is necessary is to bury the old people and let the young people go.

Seventy-five years ago Mennonite and Amish church services were not planned with young people in mind. Amish Mennonite and Mennonite church architecture proved this point. The church

buildings were built for a Sunday morning church service, for counsel meeting, and for the instruction of converts.

The meeting house was an oblong building consisting of one auditorium with two ante-rooms and a small counsel room between them. The ante-rooms, one for the men and one for the women, usually had separate outside entrances. The counsel room had no outside entrance but could be entered from either ante-room. It was known as Das Stüblein (Pennsylvania German, das Stüvvili).

While the first two or three hymns were being sung, the ministers held a meeting in the "little room" to plan the services for the day. Such matters were seldom pre-arranged. Here they decided who would read the morning lesson and who would preach. This ante-room was used also as an instruction room for young men and women who intended to unite with the church. Only grown young people or young married folks were supposed to join this class. They received instruction every Sunday when there was preaching—usually every two weeks. The period of instruction began in April or May and continued until July or August when the young people were baptized. This was the only public religious instruction intended primarily for young people. Instruction was given entirely by the ministers in a private session that began an hour or more before time for services. After the congregation had sung several long hymns to very slow tunes, the young people would file in from the ante-room and take seats on the front bench. The ministers remained in the little room to plan the day's services and did not enter the auditorium until fifteen or twenty minutes later. The congregation, meanwhile, continued to sing hymns announced by various volunteer leaders who kept their seats as they led the singing. The entire congregation sang the melody, four part singing being strictly forbidden.

The little room had one other important use. On the Sunday when counsel meeting was held or when an important vote was taken, the ministers retired to the little room. Every member entered the room alone to give his testimony or record his vote. Sunday morning services as well as the church architecture were planned with no reference to young people's needs or interests. Services began between nine and ten and seldom closed as early as twelve. On the Sunday when the semi-annual communion services were held, the meeting was not dismissed until about four o'clock in the afternoon. On that day all the members and their children and visitors ate lunch at the church building.

All church services were in German—hymns, prayers, scripture

reading, sermons, and testimonies. Seventy years ago all conversation in the homes and in the visiting before and after services was in Pennsylvania-German, but most of the preaching was in a modified High German. During the service the older men and women occupied seats to the right and left of the pulpit. Middle aged men and women occupied the front seats, younger members sat farther back and, in the rear seats sat the boys on one side and the girls on the other. Those whose fathers were not so strict as the writer's had a very good time, whispering, giggling, trading trinkets, and leaving the room for an extended stay two or three times during the service. While the congregation knelt for the long audible prayer, the confusion in the rear seats bordered on the terrific. This conduct sometimes brought a mild rebuke from the pulpit but more often passed unheeded except when one of the trustees or some outraged parent quietly arose, walked to the rear, and sat among some particularly noisy boys.

It is easily seen, therefore, that before the organization of Sunday schools boys and girls had little place in the church services. Even church houses, as already shown, were constructed with no thought of the needs and interests of young people between babyhood and early maturity. Preaching, adult instruction, minister's counsel, and congregational business, it was for these that the church building was constructed and these were the uses to which it was put.

Does the reader exclaim: "Surely, there was religious instruction in the homes!" Unfortunately that was not always true. Gray-haired grandfathers and grandmothers tell of periods of family worship at home. But such worship consisted chiefly of reading a chapter followed by a long memorized prayer by the father. These memorized prayers were often long and from frequent repetition became uninteresting to the boys and girls. But in the strict discipline of that period woe to the boy who fell asleep at prayers! One grandfather recalls how he and his little brother used to kneel at the wood-box during prayer and how he would awaken his little brother at a certain phrase that marked the approach of the end of the prayer. At infrequent intervals his father would commit a new prayer to memory from the prayer book. Even in church most of the ministers read their prayers from such a book. One minister who tried to encourage the habit of extemporaneous prayer among his brother ministers used to try to catch them off their guard. He would call on them at unexpected times to lead in prayer, but he seldom caught any of them unprepared, that is, without their prayer book. While in the act of kneeling they would draw a prayer book

from their inside coat pocket and would be ready to begin before the members of the congregation were fairly settled on their knees.

It must be admitted too that family worship and religious instruction in the home declined between 1850 and 1880. In more than one place when a meeting was held to organize a new Sunday school in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, it was almost impossible to find anyone except the ministers who could or would lead in public prayer. Bishop J. F. Funk used to say that he led in public prayer for the first time in a Union Sunday school when he was seventeen years old. In a northern Indiana county when the interested members of a Mennonite congregation met about 1870 to organize a Sunday school, more than a dozen people refused to lead in the opening prayer. The man who finally led in prayer was a Methodist born of Mennonite parents. In many places after Sunday schools were organized, it was impossible to secure teachers among the membership. Methodists, Presbyterians, Evangelicals, Campbellites and even non-Christians taught Mennonite Sunday school classes in the early days.

Under these conditions is it any wonder that the congregations that refused to encourage Sunday schools are today only a sad memory, marked by a cemetery and the site of a former church building—a melancholy monument to a mistaken conservatism!

Church conditions during the sixties and seventies, such as described above, gave some ministers and church leaders a great deal of concern. Among the Amish in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, before 1850 a very early Sunday school was organized in the attic of a spring house. But it did not have the sanction of the congregation as a whole. About the same time a Sunday school was organized in Ontario and continued for some time. Before 1860 a Sunday school was conducted by a number of Amish Mennonite brethren and sisters for several summers in a schoolhouse south of Walnut Creek, in Holmes county, Ohio. Individual Mennonites assisted in Sunday schools of other denominations here and there and in union Sunday schools, but the first Mennonite or Amish Mennonite Sunday school to be held in the United States with the consent of an entire congregation was organized in May, 1864, in the Amish Mennonite church about two miles northwest of West Liberty, Ohio. Two years later the Virginia Mennonite Conference condemned Sunday schools and, except for the pleading of Bishop Nicholas Johnson, of Masontown, Pennsylvania, the Ohio Mennonite Conference would have taken the same attitude.

To the young Christian of today who has been brought up in

the Sunday school and the Y. P. M., it seems incomprehensible that any one should have thought it possible to conduct Christian work properly without these two great arms of the church. He is likely to ask, "Why did our forefathers not organize Sunday schools?" In defense of our fathers it may be well to examine their reasons for being indifferent or actually opposed to the institution.

In the first place not only Mennonites were doubtful of the value of the Sunday school as it had been conducted. Some of the young secretaries of the American Sunday School Union who went up and down the land organizing schools appear to have been more zealous than wise in carrying on their work. In an effort to popularize the Sunday school they appear to have over-emphasized the social aspects of the institution. They encouraged Sunday school picnics held in the woods with games and exercises of all kinds in which both Christians and non-Christians took part. Back in the days when not even church members were entirely free from over-indulgence in alcoholic drinks on special occasions, such gatherings did not always come to an edifying conclusion. Conscientious Christians referred to such picnics as pagan feasts.

Then there was the fear that in their zeal to teach the Bible and in emphasizing the value of Bible knowledge, teachers would encourage pride of attainment and foster unholy emulation in their work. Then, too, many of the Sunday schools were union organizations where both Christians and non-Christians were teachers and even superintendents. A young man, now a bishop in the Mennonite church, was asked to be superintendent of a Mennonite Sunday school before he was a member of the church. Since Sunday schools were considered as existing chiefly for the benefit of children, parents usually did not attend; and in some Mennonite communities it was not deemed advisable to send the boys and girls to a religious service where they were not under the eye of their elders. Innovations were feared too. Some people objected that if Sunday schools would be organized, pride and worldly fashions in dress and four part singing would come into the church, and last but not least that the noble German language would be replaced by English.

The lingua-phobia of non-English religious groups has been the subject of much misunderstanding, of much unsympathetic and misdirected criticism. Mennonites and Amish were not alone in their devotion to the German language. Dotted over America are German Methodist, German Evangelical, German Reformed, German Baptist, and German Lutheran churches. Most of these, especially the last three named, are usually found in the same city as

English churches of the same name. These denominations, too, had their language problem which divided congregations and even conferences.

What intensified the problem among Mennonites and Amish was the lack of cultural development to provide devotional literature to replace the German prayer books and the hymns written by the martyrs four hundred years ago. Ever since the German language has been superseded by the English in the Mennonite worship service, the descendants of the Anabaptist martyrs can no longer appreciate their fine heritage of hymnology. The Ausbund has become a closed book except to the Amish, who still conduct their service in German. The Mennonite service uses borrowed hymns and on a few points, a borrowed theology. The fears of the fathers were not quite groundless.

Their aversion to change is mentioned here not to cast reflection on the fathers of the Mennonite Church for their narrowness, but to show how much courage and tact was necessary on the part of those who finally succeeded in securing the consent of the church to organize a Sunday school.

Now what was the work and the organization of the first Amish Mennonite Sunday school at West Liberty, Ohio and how was it carried on? Fortunately, quite a little is known about that Sunday school. It is known that few changes took place during the early years and the secretary books and treasurer's record have been preserved except for the years between 1866 and 1873. The founder of this school was David Plank, an Amish Mennonite minister who had been ordained five years earlier in 1859. One Sunday with his brother he visited a union Sunday school near his home. When he saw those boys and girls learning Bible stories and scripture verses and when he thought of the equally bright, but noisy, disinterested group that disturbed the Amish Mennonite service whenever he preached, his heart yearned to give them the same opportunity for Christian instruction. He asked his bishop, a red-headed farmer and ex-school teacher, whether they could not have a Sunday school at their church. "All right!" popped the bishop, "I'll be principal!" They took the vote of the congregation, and they certainly must have presented the matter with great tact and wisdom for then and there that congregation did what probably no other Amish Mennonite congregation in all the world had ever done before—they voted unanimously to organize a Sunday school. Not until three years later was a Sunday school organized in the Mennonite church at Elida, Ohio. It was seven years later that one was organized by

the Amish Mennonite congregation at Oak Grove in Wayne county. But in the latter place the ministers had been fearful that the congregation would veto their proposal. Their fear was so real, so strong, that they invited one of the Logan county ministers to come from West Liberty to help them present the matter to their congregation and to assist them in organizing a Sunday school. These facts emphasize the importance and the progressiveness of the step taken by the Logan county congregation.

Naturally, the only model for a Sunday school organization that was familiar to David Plank was that of the union Sunday school near his home. Strange to say he adopted that rather complex and somewhat expensive system for this first Amish Mennonite Sunday school. The school purchased books and Testaments and introduced an elaborate system of rewards for perfect attendance and for committing Bible texts to memory. In fact this Sunday school seems to have adopted in toto, the plan of Sunday school organization and instruction fostered by the American Sunday School Union.

On account of poor roads and inconvenient modes of travel during the sixties and seventies Sunday schools were usually organized about Easter and closed about Thanksgiving, with elaborate last day exercises called an exhibition. Educational practice of that period encouraged learning by rote. Hence the early Sunday school spent much time in committing Bible portions to memory. Psalms, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and other portions of scripture were committed to memory. To be sure, this is still considered good practice, but in those days a larger part of the class hour was spent in such memorization. During the review period the various classes sometimes recited the memorized portions before the entire school. The last day exhibition was given over largely to such exercises.

Competitive prizes were offered to encourage memorization of Bible verses. In some schools the individual pupil who had memorized the largest number of verses during the period from early spring to late fall received as a prize the largest book, some such book as Foster's *Story of the Bible*. The second prize was a smaller book, something like *First Steps for Little Feet in Gospel Paths,* for instance. The writer saw these books so awarded in the early nineties. The third prize was a thinner book, the fourth still smaller and thinner and so on.

In David Plank's first Sunday school, certificates were granted for good conduct and perfect attendance. The Mennonite Histo-

rical Library of Goshen College has a photostatic copy of one of these certificates, given for (quoting) "good behavior, attention in class, studious application, etc." The certificate is dated October 23, 1864, and is countersigned by David Plank, superintendent, and David M. Yoder, teacher.

Red and blue tickets were issued to pupils as a convenient method of keeping a record of the number of verses committed to memory. For each verse committed the pupil received one red ticket and whenever he had ten red tickets he would exchange them for one blue ticket. Hence at the end of the school year every blue ticket in a pupil's possession denoted that he had credit for committing ten verses. In a single season some pupils had over two hundred and fifty blue tickets.

When David Plank organized the first Amish Sunday school, his first task was to solicit funds to purchase supplies. The necessary amount was raised by popular subscription and he seems to have purchased all supplies from the American Sunday School Union office at Philadelphia. In the Mennonite Church at that time there was no publishing house through which such supplies could be secured.

He followed the plan in vogue in all early Sunday schools by purchasing Testaments as textbooks for the pupils. These constituted the so-called Sunday school library and were kept in the pulpit desk at the church building. At every session of the Sunday school, after the opening exercises a boy and a girl, called librarians, passed the Bibles and Testaments to the pupils. The librarians were appointed by the superintendent to serve for one whole term. At the end of the Sunday school hour they collected the Testaments and deposited them in the pulpit desk for use on the following Sunday.

In Logan county the Sunday school was held every two weeks in the afternoon of the same Sunday on which church services were held in the forenoon. As already stated, most of the roads seventy years ago were mere muddy trails. Young men and women, boys and girls, often rode horseback ten or twelve miles to services on Sunday morning. Some drove to church in the plain flat-bottomed carriages, prescribed for members of the Amish church at that time. After services large groups would gather at various homes near the church, and in the afternoon the boys and girls and a very few of the older folks returned to the church building for Sunday school.

In the early years the ministers were the superintendents and teachers. In some early Swiss Mennonite Sunday schools, in Allen county and Wayne county (Ohio), for instance, lay members were

not permitted to teach the Bible. That was reserved for the ministers. Laymen might teach German to their pupils, but only the ministers gave Biblical instruction. Amish congregations, however, had always been accustomed to hearing laymen give testimony at the end of the sermon. Hence, from the beginning, laymen taught classes in the Logan county Sunday school whenever David Plank could induce them to do so. Many refused. Many made excuses. They were not qualified; they were too busy; or teaching a Sunday school class interfered with the time-honored custom of visiting friends and relatives on Sunday. To visit and to entertain visitors on Sunday was almost as sacred a duty according to Amish tradition as to attend church services.

Thus it is seen that not all of David Plank's fellow church members were interested in Sunday school. Some came occasionally to see how Sunday school was conducted but they took no active part. They stood outside visiting or they sat in the rear of the church and looked on. They might even, and many did, sit in classes, but refuse to take part or to allow their names to be entered on the roll. Pupils were called scholars. Non-participants were called spectators. Hence in taking the attendance for any one Sunday the secretary noted the teachers, scholars, spectators and infants present. At first males and females were listed separately in each group. Sometimes the number of spectators was larger than the combined number of teachers and scholars.

Most of the early Sunday schools kept very complete records. The secretary, usually a school teacher and in the early years always a man, himself gathered all the material for his report. He walked about the room during the class hour counting teachers, scholars, spectators and infants. He kept a record of the hymns sung, the scripture read, number of verses committed to memory, the names of ministers present, the name of the minister who conducted the review and of the one who pronounced the benediction. The secretary's report sometimes commented on the interest of the pupils and occasionally criticized their behavior.

David Plank did not succeed in having a layman accept the superintendency of his Sunday school for ten years. Finally a young school teacher, David S. Yoder, moved into the community from Pennsylvania, and Plank persuaded the Sunday school to elect Yoder superintendent. A number of years later after a division in the congregation had removed some of its more progressive members, a conservative group succeeded in electing all the officers. The superintendent then elected refused to lead in public prayer.

He always called on a minister. On one occasion no minister was present as the hour approached for opening Sunday school. The superintendent kept walking to the door and looking down the road waiting for a minister. He finally announced a hymn or had the chorister announce one. Still no minister. He called for another hymn and another and finally opened the Sunday school without prayer. On another occasion he was proceeding in the same way, but his assistant superintendent refused to allow the service to open without prayer. Finally in desperation the superintendent impatiently called out, "Vell, wan's gebet sei muss, so luss uns bete."

The secretary's reports show that the early officers and teachers had a fair German education. But as time went on teachers and pupils evidently became anglicized to the extent that it was really difficult to conduct the Sunday school hour in German. To introduce English into the Sunday school, however, was impossible, because of a strongly reactionary group of laymen. They took little interest in the Sunday school themselves, but watched it ceaselessly to make sure that it would not introduce any new methods or materials. During the seventies the Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart, Indiana, printed German lesson helps. When these were introduced in the Logan county Sunday school, nearly half of the pupils registered their disapproval by non-participation, the usual Amish weapon against change and innovation. Nearly half of the scholars became spectators on the Sunday after the Lesson helps were introduced. They did not remain at home; they merely sat in the rear of the church or in the classes and refused to take part. The Lesson Helps were voted out by a heavy majority at the organization of Sunday school the following spring. The Testament remained the only text book and lesson material for the first thirty years of this Sunday school.

During the seventies and eighties, after the problem of retaining German as the language of the church and Sunday school services had become acute, the emphasis shifted from Bible instruction to language instruction for the younger classes. What might have become of the Mennonite church as a result of this secularization of its so-called religious instruction, it is not pleasant to imagine. In most of the homes an increasingly impoverished Pennsylvania-German was still in use. But the every-day language of the young people had become English. Young people were becoming rebellious. They refused to unite with the church unless allowed to receive instruction in English. They threatened to withdraw from Sunday school unless they could have an English class.

Outstanding English-speaking workers and evangelists in the Mennonite branch such as Bishop John F. Funk and the Brennemans (John M. and Daniel) could not work among some of the Amish because the Amish leaders feared proselytism. John S. Coffman seems to have broken down prejudice in many sections and made possible the transition from a cold formal German-teaching Sunday school to a live, spiritual Bible-teaching institution. It should be remembered, however, that the real leaders always kept in mind the spiritual needs of the young people. But they were forced to provide instruction in German since the laity and a few of the old ministers refused to allow English services. Bishop John P. King, of Logan County, tried to solve the problem by organizing a German day school for his young people so as to keep the Sunday school open for Bible study. But the school died for lack of support. In the late nineties English gradually entered the Sunday school but not until the Ohio Mennonite Conference organized an English congregation in West Liberty.

The next step in the development was to give young people, young converts, some means of expression. That step brought the Y. P. B. M. The first one was in Elkhart, Indiana, in 1887 where it grew out of a children's meeting conducted by the pastor every other Sunday evening for nearly twenty years. The second was in Wayne county, Ohio, a little later in the same year. The latter one grew out of a Sunday evening meeting conducted by laymen who were trying to guide the moral development of the young people of the community. It began as a singing. Gradually short addresses or a discussion of the Sunday school lesson became a feature. It was first held in a Dunkard church and later accepted by a vote of the Oak Grove congregation.

In 1890 John S. Coffman began to edit the present system of Sunday school helps based on the International series. Gradually these were adopted in the Amish and Mennonite Sunday schools.

The next great step was a general Sunday School Conference of Mennonite and Amish Sunday school workers from all over the United States and Canada, which was held at the Clinton Amish church near Goshen, Indiana in 1892. Immediately better methods of work and instruction were introduced. Scores of Sunday schools which had been meeting only during the summer months became evergreen for the first time, foreign missions were discussed, a young people's paper printed, home missions encouraged.

Succeeding Sunday school conferences brought workers together to discuss ways and means for making Sunday school work

more effective. These discussions led to increased interest in, and understanding of, the problems connected with the instruction of little children. Within a few years ante-rooms were used for separate meeting places for juniors and primaries. In some sections the women's anteroom became the meeting place for the mother's class and sand tables were supplied so that the tiny tots could play while their mothers enjoyed the Sunday school lesson.

Then came the era of raising church buildings from their foundations to provide class rooms for juniors and intermediates in the basement. It must be admitted that the need for modern heating and lighting equipment, as well as the needs of boys and girls, influenced church architecture. But wise, forward-looking leaders took advantage of the modernization of the church building to provide suitable Sunday school rooms for the boys and girls. There are now comparatively few places where the old outmoded type of church architecture, suited to the outmoded form of church service, has not given way to the new type of church building where the various departments of the Sunday school can meet separately and where several young people's meetings can be held at the same time in different auditoriums in the same building.

One other phase of progress should receive notice in this discussion. As already noted, the first general Sunday school conference in the United States was in 1892 five miles east of Goshen, Indiana. That conference brought the workers of the various Amish Mennonite and Mennonite conferences together for the first time. It was the direct forerunner of the Mennonite General Conference founded in 1898, now an international confederation of Mennonite district conferences in the United States, Canada, India and South America.

The General Sunday School Conference soon became so large a body that it was divided into the various state Sunday school conferences. From the first, Ohio furnished its full share of workers and leaders for the General Sunday school conference. Ohio and Illinois furnished the first home missionaries. Ohio and Pennsylvania furnished the first foreign missionaries. Ohio furnished the first president of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and the first president of the Mennonite Board of Education. When the state Sunday school conferences were organized, Ohio at once assumed a leading role. Following the Amish tradition of lay participation in church and Sunday school activities, the Ohio Sunday school conference has given a large place to laymen. They constitute a majority on the platform programs; they are in the majority on

its executive committee and in its delegate body. The chairman of the executive committee is a layman more often than not. A wise leadership has found means to encourage and support every vital phase of the life and work of the Church: missions—home and foreign, Sunday school normals, teacher training, Bible reading, Bible study, week-day Bible schools, vacation Bible schools, mission study, extension Sunday schools, study and writing of local Church and Sunday school history, Y. P. B. M., missionary support, young people's problems, and doctrinal teaching. The Ohio Sunday school conference was among the first to sense the importance of church history for arousing and maintaining loyalties and to utilize its cohesive force. This conference seems to have been the first to subsidize historical research. It appointed a historian in 1915. I. W. Royer, as secretary, has directed the work and policies of the conference for more than twenty years. The Ohio Conference has also been among the first to take cognizance of the vast economic changes with their attendant problems of leisure resulting from shorter hours or non-employment.

One other recent movement should be noted. The war brought to the attention of church leaders the wisdom of a stronger program of home mission propaganda. The Ohio Sunday school conference tent has twice been used for meetings that are intended not only to reach non-churchmembers but also to bring a stirring full-Gospel message to the churchgoing members of Mennonites in a given community. Ontario, also, has held one such meeting. One is being arranged (winter, 1934-35) at Lima, Ohio, on a large scale. Forward-looking Mennonite church leaders are catching a vision of the possibilities of, and need for, a more effectual witnessing in the home community. Mennonites and Amish have not been a proselyting people. They are not now. They do not desire to call others from their inherited loyalties. But the time seems to be at hand when the Mennonite Church will proclaim, more faithfully and more widely than she has hitherto done, her faith in a living Christ as the head of the Church whose members are glad to follow Him in humble simplicity, in non-conformity to the world, and in love to all men, including enemies. Mennonite church leaders are seeing as never before that the faith which the fathers for four hundred years have preserved and attempted to live is the faith needed by a sin-sick, war-torn, depression-ridden world.

From the "stüvvili" to a tent-meeting in seventy years, would seem to be symbolic of progress in carrying out the Great Commission.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN 1933-1934

Silas Hertzler

The attendance statistics analyzed in this discussion cover the school year 1933-34. The summer of 1933 is included with the school year following.

The fifteen institutions which reported for the year are:

Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Ontario Mennonite Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
German English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Sunnyside Bible School, Freeman, South Dakota
Mennonite Bible Academy, Beatrice, Nebraska
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Hillsboro Bible Academy, Hillsboro, Kansas

The general arrangement of the tables is similar to the plan used in previous years. However, there are thirteen tables instead of twelve as for the school year 1932-33. Statistics on Mennonite students of college grade and of high school grade are included in this report for the second time. Not quite all the institutions gave specific figures on this point, so some estimates based on the best evidence available are reported as explained in the foot notes included with tables IX and X.

For purposes of comparison on total attendance and for Mennonite students only, Table XIII is included. In column one this table shows the total enrollment for each year since the first report for the school year 1928-29. Column two shows the attendance of Mennonite students for the same series of years.

Total attendance as indicated in Table I shows an increase of 80 students over the school year 1932-33, though it still is 427 less than for the school year 1930-31.

Tables II and III give the attendance in each school by classes, table II listing college students, and table III listing students not of college grade. As compared with previous years the number of students of college grade has decreased considerably. The number of students of high school grade is more than for the immediately preceding year though slightly less than for the year 1931-32. There are now three Mennonite colleges which regularly grant degrees, with a total of eight which give some work of college grade. Three institutions seem to be more or less well organized junior colleges, with two institutions which give freshman work only. The number of freshmen in attendance is much larger than in any other year of the four year course.

Fifteen schools reported at least a few students not of college grade. The attendance range of academy students is from 5 to 176. Five institutions have a well organized four year Academy course. The remaining schools emphasize Bible work, or are regularly organized degree granting colleges, with just a few sub-freshman students.

There were 1259 Mennonite students in attendance at 15 institutions. The range on this point is from 15 to 222. Nine schools reported a total of 324 General Conference Mennonites. Six hundred sixty-one "old" Mennonites were attending six institutions. There were eight groups of Mennonites represented, with 120 other students merely reported as Mennonites, no details being given as to the group of Mennonites to which they belonged. Some of these students belonged to Mennonite congregations which are not affiliated directly with any organized Mennonite conferences.

Table V lists in detail the 24 groups of non-Mennonites which were represented in the 12 schools where these students attended. Officials giving the reports failed to give details for 87 students. This is considerably better than on some previous occasions. Twenty-one students reported no church affiliation. Seven religious groups were represented by only one student each. There were more members of the Methodist Episcopal church than of any other non-Mennonite group.

A study of tables VI and VII indicates the states, provinces and countries from which these schools and colleges draw their students. Mennonite students in these schools come from 23 states, from the district of Columbia, from three provinces of Canada, as well as from India, China, Germany and the Argentine. Non-Mennonite students come from 14 states and from 3 provinces of Canada. There were but 44 for whom statistics were not given.

As for the school year 1932-33, tables VIII and IX show the academic classification of the Mennonite students. Seven hundred twenty-three were registered as of college grade, with 536 registered for Bible work and academy work, who had not yet completed high school.

Attendance in summer schools in these colleges has been decreasing. This has been true for each report since the summer of 1930 when the registration reached 325. The attendance for the summer of 1933 was 182.

The proportion of men and of women students remains almost exactly as in 1932-33. With 787 men and 873 women, the proportion of men stands at slightly over 47% of the total. Four of the schools have more men than women students, though this is true for only one of the degree granting colleges. All are co-educational.

There were 306 diplomas and degrees reported. Bluffton continues to grant the largest number of degrees, 44 of the 45 being the B.A. with one Bachelor of School Music. Goshen granted 15 B.S. in Education degrees and 22 B.A. degrees. Junior college diplomas were granted at the Eastern Mennonite School, at Tabor college, and at Freeman Junior College. Diplomas were granted on the completion of two-year elementary teacher training courses at three institutions, the largest number being given at Goshen. Six institutions gave diplomas to students who completed the four-year academy course. In addition a number of students completed one-year or two-year Bible courses and were given diplomas.

Table I

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

School	Total Enrlmnt	College	Acdmy	Bible	Other Depts.
Goshen College	324	281[2]	9	34[1]	..
Bethel College	298	293	..	..	5[3]
Bluffton College	259	211	..	..	48[4]
Eastern Mennonite School	224[6]	48	71	105[5]	..
Hesston College	170	22	77[7]	71[1]	..
Ontario Bible School[8]	107	..	..	107	..
Corn Bible School	78	..	..	78	..
Freeman Junior College	59	29	30	..	..
Tabor College	54	18	36	..	..
German English Academy	52	..	41	..	11[9]
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	36	19	17	..	..
Oklahoma Bible Academy[10]	23	..	23	..	..
Sunnyside Bible School	20	..	13	7	..
Mennonite Bible Academy	16	..	16	..	..
Hillsboro Bible Academy	15	..	15	..	..
Total	1735	921	348	402	64

(1) Special Bible term students, for six weeks only

(2) Seven graduate students

(3) Summer students not of college grade

(4) 39 music students, 2 art students, 7 summer students not of college grade, *The Bluffton College Bulletin,* April, 1934, pp. 45-47

(5) 18 elementary Bible students, 87 special Bible Term students, not counting duplicates

(6) In addition there were 118 Correspondence students enrolled, *E. M. S. Bulletin,* Vol. XIII, No. 5, p. 103

(7) This total includes 15 full time Bible students not of college grade

(8) In session for twelve weeks annually

(9) Art students.

(10) *Mennonite Weekly Review,* Dec. 13, 1933, p. 5

Table II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, 1933-34

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Specials	Summer	Unclassified	Total
Bethel	15	31	60	102	48	37[1]	..	293
Goshen	25	25	52	86	31	55	7[2]	281
Bluffton	31	28	55	56	11	16[3]	14[4]	211
E. M. S.		3	12	27	6	..	..	48
Freeman		..	4	25	..	..	..	29
Hesston		..	1	21	..	..	..	22
M. C. I.		..	..	19	..	..	..	19
Tabor		..	4	14	..	..	..	18
Totals	71	87	188	350	96	108	21	921

(1) 5 Summer students listed in Table III
(2) Graduate Students
(3) Summer students of college grade, not counting duplicates
(4) Extension Students

Table III

Enrollment by Classes, Academy, Elementary Bible, and Other Students not of College Grade, 1933-34

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Bible	Unclassified	Total
E. M. S.	21	22	18	10	105[1]	..	176
Hesston	16	13	10	18	86[2]	5	148
Ontario	..	..	..	..	107	..	107
Corn	..	..	..	..	78	..	78
Rosthern	14	12	7	8	..	11[3]	52
Bluffton	..	..	..	..	..	48[4]	48
Goshen	2	6	..	..	34	1	43
Tabor	6	5	3	9	..	13[5]	36
Freeman	9	6	4	11	..	..	30
Oklahoma	..	..	..	..	23	..	23
Sunnyside	1	1	3	2	7	6	20
M. C. I.	..	..	..	..	..	17	17
Beatrice	..	..	..	..	..	16	16
Hillsboro	..	..	..	6	9	..	15
Bethel	..	..	..	..	..	5[6]	5
Totals	69	65	45	64	449	122	814

(1) 18 full time Bible students; 87 special Bible term students
(2) 71 special Bible term students for six weeks; 15 full time Bible students
(3) Special students
(4) 2 art students, 39 music students, and 7 summer students, not of college grade. *Bluffton College Bulletin,* April, 1934, pp. 45-47
(5) Summer students doing special work
(6) Summer students not of college grade

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

Denomination	E. M. S.	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Bluffton	Corn	Freeman	Rosthern	Tabor	M. C. I.	Oklahoma	Sunnyside	Beatrice	Hillsboro	Total
"Old" Mennonites	221	191	2	145	100	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	661
General Conf. Mennonites	..	3	118	7	..	71	12	43	44	2	..	..	8	16	..	324
Mennonites, unclassified	1[1]	..	31	..	..	..	4	2	2[2]	11	31	23[3]	..	..	15	120
Mennonite Brethren	..	..	7	..	..	..	61	..	3	32	..	..	..	..	..	103
Central Conf. Mennonites	..	13	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
Krimmer Mennonite Breth.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	3	..	..	5	..	..	14
Amish Mennonites	..	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Mennonite Brethren in Christ	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	6
Defenceless Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	222	209	158	152	105	85	77	52	49	48	31	23	17	16	15	1259

(1) Sonnenberg Congregation, Dalton, Ohio

(2) Old Colony

(3) *Mennonite Weekly Review,* Dec. 13, 1933, p. 5

Table V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1933-34

Denomination	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Hesston	Freeman	Tabor	M. C. I.	Sunnyside	Rosthern	E. M. S.	Ontario	Corn	Total
Methodist Episcopal	33	20	35	....	....	1	....	2	....	1	....	....	92
Statistics not given	41	40	....	1	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	87
Presbyterian	18	12	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	44
Lutheran	8	2	15	....	3	1	....	....	1	....	....	....	30
Reformed	23	....	5	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	29
Congregational	8	11	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	24
Non Church Members	4	7	4	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	21
Baptist	5	8	2	1	....	1	....	....	1	....	....	1	19
Brethren	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	19
Christian	....	14	4	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	19
United Brethren	12	2	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	19
Evangelical	4	6	2	3	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	18
Methodist Protestant	7	....	....	6	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14
Roman Catholic	3	8	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12
Episcopalian	2	2	3	....	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	9
Nazarene	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
Church of Christ	3	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Christian Miss. Alliance	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Church of God	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Christian Science	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Schwenkfelder	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Quaker	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Hebrew	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Seventh Day Adventist	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Pentecostal	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1
Brethren in Christ	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1
Totals	174	140	115	18	7	6	5	3	3	2	2	1	476

Table VI

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

States	E. M. S.	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Bluffton	Corn	Freeman	Rosthern	Tabor	M. C. I.	Oklahoma	Sunnyside	Beatrice	Hillsboro	Totals
Kansas	2	2	135	86	....	....	1	....	....	47	....	....	2	....	15	290
Pennsylvania	105	17	....	4	....	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	139
Ohio	9	66	....	1	....	54	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	130
Oklahoma	....	....	8	4	....	....	71	....	....	1	....	23[1]	....	....	....	107
Indiana	1	68	....	1	1	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81
Ontario	....	2	....	....	73	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	76
So. Dakota	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	52	....	....	....	....	14	....	....	69
Virginia	64	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	64
Saskatchewan	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	48	....	....	....	....	....	....	49
Manitoba	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	31	....	....	....	....	31
Illinois	1	20	1	....	4	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	31
Oregon	....	....	....	16	14	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	30
Iowa	7	9	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	27
Nebraska	....	2	3	4	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	16	....	26
Michigan	6	5	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	16
Maryland	11	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13
New York	6	1	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13
Colorado	1	6	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	11
Alberta	3	1	....	4	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
Missouri	....	....	....	6	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7
Minnesota	....	....	3	2	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6
Texas	....	....	1	1	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6
India	....	2	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
Argentine	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
No. Dakota	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Idaho	....	....	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3
W. Virginia	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3
Dist. of Col.	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Germany	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Delaware	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
China	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Washington	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
California	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Totals	222	209	158	152	105	85	77	52	49	48	31	23	17	16	15	1259

(1) Data gathered in part from *Eastern Mennonite School Bulletin,* Vol. XIII, No. 5, pp. 93-103

Table VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

States	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Freeman	Tabor	M. C. I.	Sunnyside	Rosthern	E. M. S.	Ontario	Corn	Total
Ohio	166	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	167
Kansas	..	..	99	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	114
Indiana	..	107	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	109
Stat. not given	..	..	39	..	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	46
South Dakota	1	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Illinois	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	5
Maryland	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
Colorado	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Pennsylvania	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Michigan	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Virginia	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New York	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Minnesota	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Mississippi	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Texas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Totals	174	115	140	18	7	6	5	3	3	2	2	1	476

Table VIII

MENNONITE STUDENTS OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	86	85	171
Bethel	73	85	158
Bluffton	35	43	78
E. M. S.	25	23	48[1]
Hesston	11	11	22
Freeman	8	14	22
M. C. I.	10	9	19[2]
Tabor	10	8	18[3]
Totals	258	278	536

(1) From *Eastern Mennonite School Bulletin,* Vol. XIII, No. 5, April, 1934
(2) Assumed that the nineteen college students were all Mennonites
(3) Assumed that the eighteen college students were all Mennonites

Table IX

MENNONITE STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1933-34

School	Men	Women	Total
E. M. S.	78	96	174[1]
Hesston	54	76	130
Ontario	46	59	105
Corn	41	36	77[2]
Rosthern	30	19	49
Goshen	23	15	38
Freeman	8	22	30
Tabor	10	20	30[3]
Oklahoma	9	14	23
Sunnyside	2	15	17
Beatrice	8	8	16
Hillsboro	8	7	15
M. C. I.	9	3	12
Bluffton	4	3	7
Totals	330	393	723

(1) From *Eastern Mennonite School Bul.*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, April 1934
(2) The report from the school gives the total only. The number of men and women estimated from the percentages of men and women who graduated
(3) The number of Mennonites of Academy grade is an estimate based on the statistical returns presented

Table X

SUMMER SESSION, 1933, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	42[1]	33	75
Bethel	17	39[2]	56
Bluffton	18	26	44[3]
E. M. S.	..	4[4]	4
Tabor	3	..	3
Totals	80	102	182

(1) One academy student
(2) Five students not of college grade
(3) One man, and 6 women, not of college grade.
(4) Academy students

Table XI

Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1933-34

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	176	148	324
Bethel	139	159	298
Bluffton	123	136	259
E. M. S.	104	120	224[1]
Hesston	77	93	170
Ontario	47	60	107
Freeman	16	43	59
Tabor	25	29	54
Rosthern	32	20	52
M. C. I.	21	15	36
Oklahoma	9	14	23[2]
Sunnyside	2	18	20
Beatrice	8	8	16
Hillsboro	8	7	15
Totals	787	870	1657[3]

(1) *Eastern Mennonite School Bulletin,* Vol. XIII, No. 5, pp. 100-103
(2) *Mennonite Weekly Review,* Dec. 13, 1933, p. 5
(3) In addition, a total of 78 students attended Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma, for whom statistics were not given

Table XII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1933

	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	E. M. S.	Hesston	Tabor	Freeman	Ontario	Corn	Rosthern	Sunnyside	Beatrice	Hillsboro	Total
B. A.	44	22	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81
B. S. in Education	....	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15
B. S.	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
B. of School Music	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Junior College	....	....	....	9	....	5	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	16
Two Year Normal	....	19	....	9	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	32
Adv. Bible (2 yrs.)	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	4
One Year Normal	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	12
Academy	....	1	....	33	16[1]	6	9	....	....	10	....	....	....	75
Academy (3 Yrs.)	....	....	...	....	....	....	....	....	30[3]	....	....	....	....	30
Academy (2 Yrs.)	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6[4]	6
Element. Bible (1 yr.)	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	9[2]	....	9	7	....	....	32
	45	58	16	59	16	11	27	9	30	19	7	3	6	306

(1) One graduate from Bible Academy
(2) Course consists of 3 years of twelve weeks each
(3) Three year combined academy and Bible course
(4) Combined Academy and Bible work

Table XIII

TOTAL ATTENDANCE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1928-1934

Year	Total Attendance	Mennonite Attendance
1928-29	1538	1025
1929-30	1967	1259
1930-31	2180	1515
1931-32	1928	1337
1932-33	1673	1135
1933-34	1735	1259

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HAROLD S. BENDER, *Goshen College*

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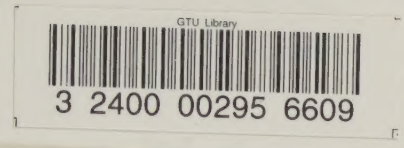
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